consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

Because of the nature of this work, unemployment is frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty persons for the town as a whole. 464

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, are employed in the town as servants, but it would be difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two classifications, but they do not appear to have any precise social differentiation, and are only hazily distinguished in the popular mind. First, there are permanent servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own. Most of these work in one way or another for the government, a number in the government buildings, for example, the qaimmaqam's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen help, and still others as household servants of government and military personnel. The qaimmaqam's household has three attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening, perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male visitors in the diwankhana or the garden. To such persons as these a little of the scornful treatment of the professional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been 357 464 [465] 357 554

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or pilk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shakir Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (gholam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes shubana). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bawil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 357 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (atar), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the atar is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowanduz for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowanduz, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 [554] [426]

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. [857] Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar

462 356 [294] [296] 357 443 556

ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The deportment required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange mal is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a 357 592 [834] 589 357

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the veil of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The qaimmaqam, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

absolved him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household. 592 554 357

Friendships contracted outside the mal, as noticed in the discussion of society, are, in adulthood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is subsequently married, the other acts as his 'servant,' receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." Male companions of this sort visit with each other in the bazar or the mosque, and exchange calls at their houses. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the diwankhana or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of bread and salt, termed nimak, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each 572

other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the maids are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the diwankhana with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

Turning now to the course of an individual of Rowanduz through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the diwankhana or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sâq* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[73] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sâq* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1936.